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Tools of the Trade and Sociopolitical Micro Maneuvers: A Case Study of Serbian Usage LabeLs

Danko Šipka

Introduction

Dictionaries are commonly seen as dull lists of words, even by lexicographers themselves as in the famous definition by Samuel Johnson where *lexicographer* is defined as: "a writer of dictionaries; a harmless drudge, that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words."[1] In contrast to this image of drudgery, I see dictionaries as rich depositories of social practices and I deem the lexicographer's work a constant dialog with the prevailing cultural, social, and ideological context. In that, I am following the ideas of socio-cognitive metalexicography, which strives "[...] to establish a triangular communicative model of lexicography and views the bilingual dictionary as a system of intercultural communication between the compiler and the user."[2] I have proposed the following research construct for the study of Slavic dictionaries.[3]

> The dictionaries are socially embedded, they represent systems of intercultural communication between the compiler and the user, where both involved parties have certain attitudes and belief systems about linguistic variation. The situation is however more complex than that. The dictionary has oftentimes been the ferment of change and, even more frequently—it mirrored or incorporated social changes. The relation between the three key components of the process (factors, elements, and strategies) can be represented as follows. As can be seen, the factors influence lexicographic strategies, which shape the elements but at the same time provide feedback to the environment for the dictionary.

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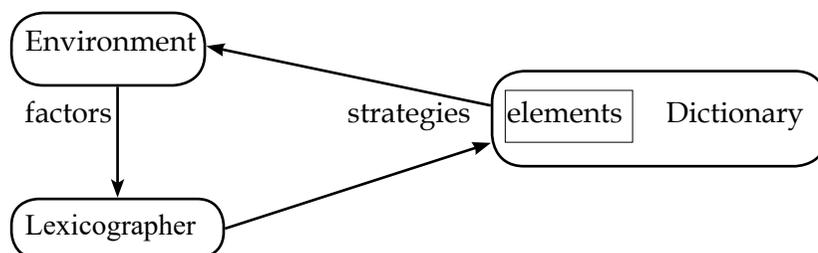
[1] Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language* (London: J & P. Knapton, 1755).

[2] Heming Yong and Jing Peng, *Bilingual Lexicography from a Communicative Perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007), p. 15.

[3] Danko Šipka, "Sociolinguistic Factors in South Slavic Lexicographic Traditions," in Domingues Rodrigues and Maria Victoria et al., ed., *Words across History: Advances in Historical Lexicography and Lexicology* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Grand Canaria University Press, 2016), p. 415.

Obviously, the shape of the communication between the lexicographer, his/her dictionary and the environment is culture specific. For example, the users of Slavic dictionaries generally pay more attention to normative elements in the dictionaries than the speakers of English, whose dictionary usage may be determined by other factors, e.g., the desire to check if something is an actual word. Similarly, the number of dictionary users per capita (and thus the segment of the population affected by lexicographic strategies) varies across the cultures. For examples, dictionary ownership seems to be much broader in the English-speaking world than in Slavic countries, where it by-and-large remains the preserve of most educated circles.

When looking into dictionaries as results of lexicographic practice, an interesting question emerges (from the viewpoint of socio-cognitive metalexicography) about the social determinants of particular solutions and, conversely, the effect they have in the society. Slavic dictionaries in general, with their strong tradition of normative linguistics, and South Slavic dictionaries in particular, known for their elevated political sensitivities, constitute a particularly well-suited ground for asking these questions. While this overarching question about the dialog between lexicography and society can be asked about any lexicographic practice, the highly formalized procedure of dictionary labeling offers readily available material for quantitative and qualitative analysis. The present paper is thus a case study of usage labels in a major Serbian dictionary.[4] I will start by introducing the relevant concepts (and reviewing a relevant research tradition in the process) to formulate the main hypothesis about the role of usage labels. The next section of the paper will be devoted to explaining the methodology deployed in this case study. The central part of the paper will present and discuss the results of this metalexicographic case study. I will conclude by situating these results in a broader framework and indicating directions for potential further investigation.

Concepts and Questions

The present analysis relies on three main concepts: usage labels, macro maneuvers, and micro maneuvers. I will discuss them in turn. While the first concept is generally known, the remaining two notions have been introduced and fully elaborated upon in a recent monograph.[5] They will hence be discussed at greater length and in a less technical manner. Similar description will be provided for the categorization of usage labels, another proposal advanced in the aforementioned monograph. It is important to realize that the categorization of usage labels, the concepts of macro and micro maneuvers represent constructs that need to be tested on empirical material, which is precisely what this case study is striving to achieve.

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4 Milica Vujanić et al, *Rečnik srpskoga jezika* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2011).
5 Danko Šipka, *Lexical Layers of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

In its broader sense, *usage* refers to any kind of relationship of words or their features (their meanings or their forms) and their language production/ reception context. This ranges from the required morphosyntactic form of that particular context to semantic links the word may have, and the effects the word creates in that context. In its narrower sense, *usage* excludes any phonetic, phonological, prosodic, morphosyntactic, and core semantic parameters. In that sense, this term refers to a higher, lower, or absolute valence of the word or its feature toward certain contexts (e.g., toward one period in time or region but not toward another) or a certain contextual effect (e.g., offensiveness, facetiousness, etc.). I will employ *usage* in this narrower sense and the concrete scope of the phenomena covered with it will be outlined later in this section based on the review of the practice in lexicography and metalexicography. *Label* is any succinct, customary and, as a rule, repeatedly deployed reference to the usage parameters. In a typical case, such customary and repeated references are either listed in the front matter, e.g., *obs.(olete), Am.(erican), off.(ensive)*, or established in linguistic and/or lexicographic practice of the language in question (e.g., grammatical labels showing the inflection of the word, such as *gave, given* under *give*). Not every reference to usage is a label—there are also glosses, which refer to usage, such as *used only in Shakespeare's works* for the word *honorificabilitudinitatibus. Usage labels*, given that the narrower meaning of usage is employed here, refer to succinct customary references to the valence of the words or their features toward certain contexts or contextual effects. This precise usage of the term can be found in: "A usage label is a noun or adjective indicating the kind of context in which the word is normally used: *slang, literary, American, Medicine*, etc. Usage labels are usually abbreviated (*sl, lit, US, med*, etc.). They are of different kinds, social, geographical, stylistic, etc. corresponding to different varieties of language."[6] In metalexicographic study of usage labels the following criteria have been established[7]: time (e.g., archaism), place (e.g., regionalism), nationality (e.g., foreign word), medium (e.g., colloquial), socio-cultural (e.g., slang), formality (e.g., informal), text type (e.g., poetic), technicality (e.g., biology), frequency (e.g., rare), attitude (e.g., ironic), and normativity (e.g., non-standard). One should say that this classification remains strongly Eurocentric. For example, it does not contain gender (words used exclusively by males or females, i.e., in thus marked texts), age (items used by younger or older people, etc.) and other similar categories, as these are not so frequent in European languages and rather rare in European dictionaries. The very idea of something being technical presumes a kind of society we

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6 Henri Béjoint, *The Lexicography of English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 12.

7 Originally in Franz Joseph Hausmann, "Die Markierung im allgemeinen einsprachigen Wörterbuch: eine Übersicht," in F.-J. Hausmann, O. Reichmann, H. Wiegand and L. Zgusta, eds., *Dictionaries. An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* vol. 1, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1989), pp. 649–657 with the most recent version in Bo Svensén, *A Handbook of Lexicography: The Theory and Practice of Dictionary-Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 216.

know from European countries. In contrast, the idea of subject matter would be much more appropriate for other cultural settings, given that it does not presume any kind of advanced technology.

A majority of established types of labels may serve as exclusion labels in the sense that they have the potential of excluding a lexeme or its meaning from standard language in its narrower sense.[8] The most direct labels of this kind are those based on normativity. Exclusion can also, rather straightforwardly, be achieved by the criteria of time, place, and also by socio-cultural ones. All those labels exclude the word from contemporary standard language in its narrower sense. A part of formality labels (e.g., informal) as well as attitude labels (e.g., derogatory) certainly have an indirect exclusion potential. In other words, while their primary role is to mark the attitude, they carry a certain potential of being understood by the users as exclusion labels. To give an example, a dictionary user can conclude that the Serbian word *zajebancija* 'fooling around, monkeying around, literally: fucking around' is not supposed to be used in formal standard language whether we use a primary exclusion label such as *slang, non-standard*, etc. or a secondary label, such as *vulgar, obscene*, etc. Other labels are just marking an area or a feature within standard language.

In practically all contemporary monolingual Slavic dictionaries, one can find the following two ideal types of exclusion labels:

a. Primary exclusion labels, i.e., such labels as *slang*, where the dictionary compiler's intention was to clearly exclude the word, its meaning, or form from the standard language,

b. Secondary exclusion labels, e.g., *vulgar*, where the label was used to signal something else (in this case the attitude), but its effect on users can be that of exclusion.

In real-life application, these ideal types blend into one another and there in fact exists a continuum of exclusiveness from strong and clear exclusion from the standard language to weak and borderline exclusion effect. Needless to say, these two types of labels are just constructs that I am proposing as tools for analysis.

Let us now turn to macro and micro maneuvers, other epistemological constructs elaborated upon in a recent monograph.[9] This particular construct relies on the notion of macro maneuvers—broad lexical planning campaigns, and micro maneuvers, concrete activities through which these lexical planning campaigns are implemented. Normative linguists, along with other members of the elite, to be more precise intelligentsia (writers, journalists, politicians, and even performing artists), engage in lexical planning and refereeing through a

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8 This encompasses those forms like news, public announcements, etc. but not works of literature or spontaneous colloquial speech. For more about the difference between more broadly and more narrowly construed standard language see: Dick Smakman, "The Definition of the Standard Language: A Survey in Seven Countries," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 218 (2012), pp. 25–58.

9 Šipka, *Lexical Layers of Identity*.

series of macro maneuvers, from bringing about specialized publications such as normative dictionaries, manuals of orthography, etc. (with ensuing perpetuation of lexical recommendations by teachers and language editors) to general appearances in the media. The macro maneuvers are generally geared toward establishing linguistic authority[10] and commonly also national/ethnic unity.[11] Macro maneuvers include series of micro maneuvers in which concrete operations are conducted on words and their features. Thus, for example, publishing a normative dictionary is a part of a prescriptivist macro maneuver while the practice of assigning normative labels to the words in that dictionary represents a micro maneuver. Similarly, a teacher's feedback on this score is another micro maneuver and so are a language editor's concrete interventions. Labeling using primary and secondary exclusion labels is the most overt type of lexical refereeing, i.e., signaling that a word or its meaning is to be judged as something that should be excluded from the standard language in its narrower sense. To give a very clear example of lexical planning, in purist campaigns (which typically strive to purge a language from unwanted, most commonly foreign, elements)[12] the elites would, through a series of publications and appearances, enforce the idea that domestic words should be used instead of their equivalents borrowed from other languages (which would be a macro maneuver of linguistic purism) and this would be followed by a range of practices (micro maneuvers of linguistic purism), which would include dictionaries labelling unwanted words, providing their desirable equivalents, copy editors replacing undesirable words with desirable ones, language educators insisting that the students use recommended words, etc.

With these concepts in mind, let me turn to the main questions of this paper. I am namely interested to find out to what extent usage labels represent tools of the trade that are necessary in making the entries accessible to the users and to what extent they represent micro maneuvers of establishing normative authority and national unity. My initial hypothesis, based on my previous research,[13] is that usage labels fulfill both these roles. In this paper I will look into this hypothesis by conducting quantitative and qualitative analysis of the usage labels from one major Serbian monolingual dictionary. In the next section, titled *Methodology*, I will explain the techniques used to analyze this dataset. The next section will present the *Results* of the quantitative and

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10 See Michael Huemer, *The Problem of Political Authority: An Examination of the Right to Coerce and the Duty to Obey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) for a review of the discussions on authority and classic differentiation of traditional, charismatic, and legal sources of authority in Max Weber, *Politik als Beruf* (Ditzingen: Reclam, 1992, originally published in 1919).

11 Understood in its constructivist sense following Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (2009), pp. 21–42.

12 For more on purism, see George Thomas, *Linguistic Purism* (New York: Longman, 1989).

13 Danko Šipka, "Exclusion Labels in Slavic Monolingual Dictionaries," *Colloquium* 1:1 (2016), pp. 1–17 and Šipka, "Sociolinguistic Factors," pp. 413–424.

qualitative analysis of the present dataset. The final section of this paper, titled *Conclusions*, will situate the findings into a broader research agenda. I would like to emphasize yet again that this case study represents a first step in testing proposed construct of communication between dictionary compilers and their environment.

Methodology

The analysis in this paper is conducted on the dataset of a major contemporary Serbian one-volume monolingual dictionary.[14] This is then a case study that certainly does not give any definitive answers about usage labels but rather strives toward initiating a new line of research. This particular dictionary was selected given that political sensitivities are considerably more prominent in the Slavic South than in other Slavic environments, which should then offer richer data for this introductory analysis. The analysis was performed on a searchable PDF file into which the printed edition of this dictionary was previously scanned.

The following procedure has been followed. First, all usage labels in this dictionary have been identified, segregated into broader categories, and the number of labels in each category and the number of uses of these labels has been tabulated. Second, a concordance of all cases of usage labels in this dictionary has been created and a qualitative analysis of their deployment has been conducted.

A total of 98 usage labels have been used in this dictionary. This set of labels has been segregated into three major categories using the construct explained in the previous section: exclusion labels (which can be primary or secondary), subject-matter labels (those that are based on technicality, which are not exclusive, but which definitely carry a potential of being restrictive—stating that the use is restricted to specialized professional fields rather than general usage) and other labels that are neither exclusive nor potentially restrictive. Each of these three groups is then further divided into lower-level categories based on the similarity of concrete labels, which, in turn, are at the lowest level of this taxonomy. This three-level taxonomy enables a systematic comparison of purely professional use of the labels with the maneuvers of establishing normative authority.

The taxonomy used in this quantitative analysis is presented in Table 1.

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14 Vujanić et al, *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*.

Microgroup	Subgroup	Example of a label
primary exclusion labels	regional	рег. регионално 'regional'
	restricted groups	шатр. шатровачки 'slang'
	style and register	разг. разговорно 'colloquial'
	temporal	арх. архаизам 'archaism'
secondary exclusion labels	style and register	вулг. вулгарно 'vulgar'
subject-matter labels	arts	муз. музички 'musical'
	belief systems	рлг. религија 'religion'
	natural sciences	биол. биологија 'biology'
	sports	спорт. спорт 'sports'
	social sciences	ист. историја 'history'
	production trades	грађ. грађевинарство 'construction'
	service trades	козм. козметика 'cosmetics'
non-exclusion labels	style and register	еуф. еуфемизам 'euphemism'
	temporal	неол. неологизам 'neologism'
	age-related	деч. дечји 'spoken to children'
	regional	јек. (и)јекавски 'ijekavian'

Table 1. A taxonomy of usage labels in *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*

Several notes should be added to the table. I have already empirically demonstrated that both primary and secondary labels can be understood by the users of dictionaries to exclude a lexeme from the narrowly understood standard language.[15] I have also shown that subject matter labels can serve several different purposes: signal that the word is used in a narrow field only, that the word is characteristic for that narrower field, and that they can be used just to separate the general meaning of the word from a more specialized one.[16] It is then difficult to say without a qualitative analysis how many of subject-matter labels are indeed restrictive and how many are not. If we put items from professional lingos aside, technical terms are not construed as exclusive as even most specialized terms of this kind would not be seen as incompatible with the narrowly understood standard language. The age-related category is included in the non-exclusion labels as it does not exclude the word or the speaker but

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15 Šipka, "Exclusion Labels in Slavic Monolingual Dictionaries," pp. 1–17.
16 Danko Šipka, "Specialized Subject-Matter Labels: Exodistinctive versus Endoprofiling," *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* 38:2 (2017), pp. 30–88.

rather limits the range of the recipients (or, to use a concrete example, it would not be inappropriate for a TV reporter to use those forms when talking to children in a daily news program).

Two counts were tabulated for all label categories, the number of uses in the dictionary text and the number of labels in each category. The percentage of the total number of uses and labels was calculated for each category.

Two indices were calculated based on these data: micro maneuver prominence indicator (MPI) and micro maneuver lexical volume indicator (MLVI).[17] The following formula was used for the former: MPI = percentage of the labels involved in a micro maneuver—percentage of labels not involved in a micro maneuver. Positive value of the indicator means that the labels included in the micro maneuver prevail over those that are not, a higher value of the indicator (a higher number in the positive range and a lower number in the negative range) shows higher prominence of the micro maneuver in question. The indicator ranges from −100 (absence of the micro maneuver) to 100 (its full dominance). Thus, for example, if 55% of all relevant labels in the dictionary are involved in the micro maneuver in question and 45% are not, the indicator would have a value of +10 (55 − 45 = 10). The idea behind this indicator was to show the polarity and intensity in one number. To oversimplify—higher numbers in the negative territory mean a larger degree of failure of the micro maneuver, higher numbers in the positive territory mean its higher degree of success.

Micro maneuver lexical volume indicator is the percentage of all entries in the dictionary affected by the micro maneuver. The indicator ranges from 0 (no entries marked with exclusive labels) to 100 (all entries in the dictionary marked with exclusive labels). Thus, if a dictionary has 20% of entries with the labels that are a part of the micro maneuver (in this case exclusive labels), the value of this indicator would be 20. Both indicators have been developed as a part of a broader project titled Lexical Layers of Identity.[18]

Needless to say, there are entries with multiple labels, and also cases where senses in entries have different labels. The following entry illustrates both these situations: "везист(а), -е м (мн. -сти) вој. 1. официр или војник у јединици за одржавање везе. 2. спорт. разг. везни играч (в. под везни)."[19] The first meaning of this word 'a military officer or soldier in charge of communications' has the label military, while the other meaning 'midfielder (soccer player)' has two labels: *sports* and *colloquial*. When calculating lexical volume indicator, I am only counting the presence of the exclusion labels in each particular entry. If the entry has at least one exclusive label in at least one of its

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17 For explanation and more examples of using these indicators, see Šipka, *Lexical Layers of Identity*.

18 For general parameters of this project, see: Danko Šipka, "Leksički slojevi slovenskog kulturnog identiteta," in Rajna Dragićević, ed., *Putevima reči* (Beograd: Čigoja, 2017), pp. 131–143.

19 Vujanić et al, *Rečnik srpskoga jezika*, p. 128.

meanings, it will be counted as affected by this micro maneuver. The point of the indicator is to show the lexical mass affected, and how much it is affected (e.g., the whole word being labeled with multiple labels of this kind versus only one of its senses being labeled with one label) is something that would need to be explored with another indicator.

The next part of the present inquiry was a qualitative analysis of the concordances for each of the 98 usage labels used in the dictionary. In both quantitative and qualitative analysis only usage labels were considered, leaving aside other types of labels, such as grammatical, etymological, etc.

category	subgroup	uses	%			labels	%		
primary exclusion labels	regional	889	4.3%			2	2%		
	restricted groups	265	1.3%			2	2%		
	style and register	961	4.6%			1	1%		
	temporal	210	1.0%			2	2%		
secondary exclusion labels	style and register	1058	5.1%	**total exclusion**		8	8%	**total exclusion**	
				3383	**16.2%**			**15**	**15.31%**
subject-matter	arts	496	2.4%			6	6%		
	belief systems	293	1.4%			6	6%		
	natural sciences	5491	26.3%			27	28%		
	sports	434	2.1%			4	4%		
	social sciences	1664	8.0%			14	14%		
	production trades	70	0.3%			4	4%		
	service trades	622	3.0%	**total subject-matter**		15	15%	**total subject-matter**	
				9070	**43.4%**			**76**	**77.55%**
non-exclusion	style and register	3974	19.0%			2	2%		
	temporal	6	0.0%			1	1%		
	age-related	14	0.1%			2	2%		
	regional	4467	21.4%	**total non-exclusion**		2	2%	**total non-exclusion**	
				8461	**40.5%**			**7**	**7.14%**
Total		*20914*	*100.0%*	*20914*	*100.00%*	*98*	*100%*	*98*	*100.00%*

Table 2. Usage labels in *Rečnik srpskoga jezika:* number of uses and labels

As already noted, among non-exclusion labels, the two most commonly used groups have two labels each. They are style and register labels ('euphemism' 0.3% and 'figurative' 99.7% uses in this group) as well as regional labels ('ijekavian' 99% and 'ekavian' 1% of uses in this group).

The latter category requires some explanations. In standard Serbian, some words have two forms, one which is used in the Republic of Serbia, and the other in other areas where standard Serbian is used (Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia). This dualism stems from underlying dialectal differences. It can be exemplified by the word for 'milk', which has the form *mleko* in Serbia and *mlijeko* elsewhere. Historically, there have been macro maneuvers to either replace the ijekavian form by the ekavian everywhere (this was advocated by Serbian ethnic nationalists) and also to make a claim that everything that is in ijekavian is not Serbian (mostly advocated by Bosniak, Croatian, and Montenegrin ethnic nationalists).[20] Both these initiatives were short-lived and there are no serious challenges to the existence of these two forms in standard Serbian, either external or internal. However, the existence of such issues (even in the past) means that the deployment of these labels still may be a lexicographic micro maneuver stemming from the macro maneuver of making a claim about the range of standard Serbian. This despite the fact that these labels for the regional variants of some words are not exclusive in relation to the standard as both these forms clearly belong to it.

With all this in mind the two aforementioned indicators, micro maneuver prominence indicator (MPI) and micro maneuver lexical volume indicator (MLVI), can be discussed. If we are measuring just the prominence of the micro maneuver of excluding from the standard language in the narrower sense, the value of the indicator is −67.6. The maneuver is thus present but its prominence is rather low. However, if we talk about the micro maneuver of establishing normative authority, then marking of the regional variants (ijekavian and ekavian) has to be considered a part of this micro maneuver as it is a kind of reassurance that both forms are a part of standard Serbian (countering the tendencies to claim otherwise). In that case, the value of the micro maneuver prominence indicator is −24.8, i.e., its prominence is considerably higher but it still remains in the negative territory.

The micro maneuver lexical volume indicator is very low. For the exclusion alone, it is around 3% and for the establishment of normative authority, it is around 7.5%. This is not very surprising given that this is a standard language dictionary, where the default is that everything belongs to the standard without the need to provide any additional specifications.

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20 For scholarly discussion of this issue see, Snježana Kordić, *Jezik i nacionalizam* (Zagreb: Durieux, 2010), For political-popular discussion, see Robert Greenberg, *Language and Identity in the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

If we compare the exclusion maneuver with the situation in similar dictionaries of other Slavic languages: Slovenian,[21] Polish,[22] and Russian,[23] we can see that the value of the micro maneuver lexical volume indicator is consistently higher in other Slavic dictionaries but still relatively low—around 15% in Slovenian, around 25% in Polish, and around 18% in Russian. One should note that the Polish dictionary is still a work in progress, which means that the value of this indicator may change once it is completed. To illustrate this, the most frequent exclusive label in the Russian dictionary is просторечие 'non-standard colloquial', used 3230 times, followed by устаревшее 'obsolete' with 2604 uses. The Polish dictionary uses potoczne 'colloqial' by far the most: 2698 times, while the Slovenian dictionary relies mostly on starinsko 'old' with 4973 uses and zastarelo 'obsolete' with 3893 uses, to mention primary exclusion labels only.[24]

I will now proceed with a qualitative analysis of the concordances for pivotal labels. This will give us an insight into concrete strategies deployed in this dictionary.

Although one would think that the two regional labels: нар. народски; покрајински 'folksy; provincial', рег. регионално (карактеристично (само) за одређене регије, регионално маркирано) 'regional (characteristic (only) for certain regions, regionally marked) serve a similar function, the concordance data reveal something completely different. The folksy-provincial label almost invariably covers widely used dialectisms that have synonyms in the standard lexicon (e.g., *bedevija* 'mare', which is *kobila* in the standard, *varenika* 'milk', which is *mleko* or *mlijeko* in the standard, etc.). The regional label is in fact almost invariably used to mark the words that are common in the Croatian standard (e.g., Croatian *skladba* 'musical compoisition', which is *kompozicija* in Serbian, Croatian *kolodvor* 'train station' which is *železnička stanica* or *željeznička stanica* in Serbian, etc.). There is only a handful of examples like *mezar* 'grave', *riva* 'seaside promenade', etc. that have real regional feel. One can then see that the label 'folksy' serves to establish normative authority while the 'regional' one has to do with the macro maneuver of constructing ethnic identity. One can surmise that the words labeled as regional are there to cover the usage of Serbs in Croatia but still signal that these are not generally acceptable lexical items.

As is usually the case, the majority of words labeled as жарг. жаргон 'argot' and шатр. шатровачки 'slang' do not have that status anymore. These lexical fields change rapidly and it seems that the authors have adopted the

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21 Anton Bajec et al, *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 2000).

22 Piotr Żmigrodzki et al, *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* (Kraków: Instytut Języka Polskiego PAN, 2012), http://wsjp.pl

23 S. I. Ozhegov and N. Iu. Shvedova, *Tolkovyi slovar' russkogo iazyka* (Moscow: Az', 1992).

24 See Danko Šipka, "Exclusion Labels in Slavic Monolingual Dictionaries," pp. 1–17 for full data comparing exclusion labels in monolingual dictionaries of these four Slavic languages.

labels from the six-volume dictionary at which they based their one-volume work.[25] They mostly contain either the words that are in the meantime changed their status to either archaisms (such as *švesterka* 'sister', *njokalica* 'nose, mouth') or colloquialisms (*ćale* 'father', *gluvariti* 'chill out'). It is absolutely unclear why there are two labels—the words carrying them do not essentially differ in the two groups. The 'school students' label is indeed used to mark the words that are restricted to school student slang. The primary role of all these three labels is to exclude the words from the narrowly understood standard.

The most commonly used among primary exclusion labels is 'colloquial'. While some cases are rather bizarre (e.g., labelling as colloquial the meaning in which a drink means a quantity of one bottle, glass or cup of that drink as in *to drink a beer, coffee, cognac, whiskey*, etc.—which is perfectly acceptable in the narrowly understand standard), the vast majority of the words marked with those labels are in fact colloquialisms which have neutral standard-language equivalents, e.g., *zeznut* a synonym of the neutral *nezgodan* 'disagreable', *zezati* a synonym of the neutral *zadirkivati* 'tease', *bendati* a synonym of the neutral *obazirati se* 'consider, regard', etc. Establishing standard language authority by delineating narrowly understood standard language from the colloquial sphere is the primary purpose of this micro maneuver.

The 'archaism' label indeed covers archaisms that now have replacements in the contemporary standard, e.g., *skoroteča* for contemporary *glasnik* 'herald'. The same is true of the 'old literary language' label. This is de facto a subset of archaisms that have phonetic or morphological features of Church Slavonic, which served as the litearary language until mid-19th century. Words marked with this label are cases like *rab* instead of *rob* 'slave', *vremja* instead of *vreme* or *vrijeme* 'time', etc. Again, these labels are indeed a part of the exclusion maneuver based on the temporal criterion.

All secondary exclusion labels: вулг. вулгарно 'vulgar', експр. експресивно 'expressive', ир. иронично 'ironic', пеј. пејоратив; пејоративно (погрдно) 'pejorative term; pejorative (depreciative)', подр. подругљиво 'mocking', презр. презриво 'contemptuous', фам. фамилијарно 'familial', шаљ. шаљиво 'humorous', are used with the primary purpose to signal the style and register value expressed by the label. However, it is also true that most of the words marked with these labels are not appropriate in the standard, e.g., in the texts that one would find in daily news in any of the mainstream media outlets. We can see that in examples like *vukojebina* 'isolated place, the boondocks', labeled as 'pejorative', a synonym of the standard *zabačeno mesto* or *mjesto* remote place', *dupelizac* 'ass licker' with the same label as a synonym of the standard *ulizica* 'sycophant', etc. These labels are then a part of the exclusion micro maneuver, although that is not their primary purpose. Obviously, their primary purpose is to signal the connotations of the words and their meanings.

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25 Mihailo Stevanović et al., *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1967–1976).

As noted above, the only other labels that are potentially a part of a micro maneuver of establishing national borders of standard Serbian are those for ekavian and ijekavian forms. Given that ekavian is the default, almost all labels are ijekavian (99%); ekavian is used only exceptionally, e.g., when the the word can be either ekavian or ijekavian, or when the ekavian form is rare, so the word is listed in its ijekavian form. Since this difference is a purely mechanical geographical variation, the concordance cannot reveal anything about the nature of the use of this label. One should note that, just as with the secondary exclusion labels, the primary purpose of these labels is to supply to the users the information about the ijekavian form that they may seek.

All other labels are definitely not a part of any ideological micro maneuvers. Subject-matter labels may be restrictive, but, with small exceptions, even the most technical term would generally not be deemed inappropriate for the standard language in its narrower sense (it would only need to be explained in the general media texts but no alternative word would be used). As in most other dictionaries, these labels confound two very different signaling devices: exodistinctive labels, those that signal that the word or its meaning is used only in that subject-matter field and nowhere else, and endoprofiling, those that signal that the word or its meaning is commonly used in that field but it is in fact a general lexicon item.[26] I will exemplify this with the label for 'music'. On the one hand, words marked with this label contain highly specialized terms that are used just by specialists in this field and nowhere else, e.g., *decrescendo* or *dodecaphony* (i.e., exodistinctive labels are used). On the other hand, there are numerous words of the general lexicon that have to do with music, words like *voice*, *melody*, *saxophone*, etc., which means that endoprofiling labels are used. In the latter case, the labels have a distinctive function, they separate the meaning used in music from that in other fields. Thus, for example, the word *glas* has numerous meanings and it is used in various spheres (the English equivalents would be sound, voice, vote, reputation and others). The use of the label for 'music' is there primarily to distinguish the use in that field from others, like linguistics or politics. Similar is the use of other subject-matter labels. Very often they are used to distinguish specialized from general use. For example, the label for 'botany' is used for the word *svodnica*, to distinguish the specialized meaning of the plant celery-leaved buttercup (Ranunculus sceleratus) from the general meaning of 'brothel madam'. We have an identical situation with the use of 'mathematics' to distinguish 'remainder' in mathematical operations from the general meaning of 'the rest' among the senses of the word *ostatak*. There is no indication in the concordances for any of the subject-matter labels that they are used as ideological micro maneuvers. They are used purely as tools of the trade.

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26 For more about this distinction, see: Danko Šipka, "Specialized Subject-Matter Labels," pp. 30–88.

The second most commonly used non-exclusion label, right after that for 'ijekavian' is 'figurative'. It is used to signal semantic extensions, as for example in *vihor*, which means 'whirlwind', first as literal wind and then as 'turbulent or disorderly occurrence'. The latter meaning, being a semantic extension, is then marked with the label 'figurative'. While one can wonder if the users have the need to have labelled something that they can easily infer themselves, there is no doubt that this label is a tool of the trade. The same is true for all other non-exclusion labels. On a side note, one could say that the label for 'neologism' (used only 6 times) contains mostly items that are either neutral standard-language words (*ukrupnjavati se* 'become bigger', *blatobran* 'mudguard', *dokumentarac* 'documentary', etc.) or unusual word formations (e.g., *cigaretnik* 'cigarete holder', *razgovornica* 'visiting room in prison'). Their intention may have been to signal that the word is in the waiting room before becoming a part of the standard-language lexicon, which would be a part of normative micro maneuver. However, the obsolescence, and most probably failure to remove the labels that were present in the aforementioned six-volume dictionary that served as the base for this one, have rendered all these labels superfluous.

CONCLUSION

Quantitative and qualitative analysis presented in the previous section of this paper supports the hypothesis that usage labels in this dictionary fulfill two major functions—all of them are tools of dictionary compilation and some of them are also tools of ideological micro maneuvers of establishing normative authority and achieving national unity. In this dictionary (and comparative data from other, similar Slavic dictionaries point in the same direction) those labels that do not serve any ideological purpose are prevalent. However, the presence of labels that are a part of normative micro maneuvers cannot be disregarded.

The borderline between the two groups of labels (those without any ideological role and those with it) is fuzzy. Most notably, secondary exclusion labels concurrently signal connotation values (which does not have anything to do with ideology) but they also potentially exclude words from the narrowly understood standard, which is an ideological micro maneuver. That being said, in order to make comparisons, it is useful to separate these two groups, as was done here based on the presence of ideological micro maneuvers (whether other elements are present or not). The two indicators (micro maneuver prominence indicator and micro maneuver lexical volume indicator) provide concrete data that can be used in cross-dictionary comparison (as was demonstrated by comparing four Slavic dictionaries). Ultimately, the question about labels as tools of the trade and ideological micro maneuvers is a question about the embeddedness of the dictionary in its sociocultural surroundings and about the interaction of dictionary makers with their society. On the one hand, this interaction is a feedback mechanism, where the compilers of the dictionary are

influenced by the grand narratives in the society, most notably the macro maneuvers of establishing normative linguistic authority and achieving national unity through it. The micro maneuvers then they deploy create certain norms that go back to the society, where dictionary users consult them, which ultimately creates customs of normative lexical patterns that are being followed in society. On the other hand, the feedback is in the fact that the lexicographers remain influenced by the needs and expectations of the users (e.g., to mark connotations of words or their level of technicality), users being members of the sociocultural environment of dictionary making. Lexicographers then deploy purely lexicographic strategies to meet these needs and the product of dictionary making goes back to society. As already noted, the latter feedback mechanism was much stronger in this case study, but the former was still present and significant. While it is directly obvious that ideological micro maneuvers ultimately shape the cultural identity of dictionary users by delimiting the sphere of the narrowly understood standard language, purely lexicographic strategies may have the same effect as they create the custom of consulting dictionaries for usage information, which is one of the markers of "cultured," "well-read," "well-educated" speakers.

The above was a case study, limited by its dataset, with various peculiarities (lexicographic tradition, the dynamics of the team of lexicographers, etc.) Nevertheless, the present analysis has clearly demonstrated the presence of both main roles of usage labels, lexicographic and ideological. Any peculiarities of this dataset certainly do not change that fact.

The next steps in this project will include a more detailed comparison of several major Slavic monolingual dictionaries, including interviews with lexicographers and dictionary users, and a corpus analysis of the public discourse about these dictionaries. The analysis will be extended to other elements of lexicographic treatment, beyond usage labels, and its intended outcome is a monograph titled *From Society to Lexicography and Back: Slavic Dictionaries as Ideological Maneuvers*.